1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu"auki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *log.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

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A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'ca) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke'a! mi'k'eŋ ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a"umatapa"li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

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824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a"ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

[224]

[262]

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The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

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On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

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Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

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One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

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Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

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Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

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Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

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A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

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[P.367,A]

776 ever, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[3]

The various powers and activities of the Water
776 Babies are perhaps best described in the following
539 stories recounted by informants:

1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a basket to the Water Babies at Lake Lämedel. There is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

[782]
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2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave baskets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another fella like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

[778]
[782]

3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt these little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

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5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa. He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

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[3] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for joining a coven of Navajo witches is often the life of a relative (1947, p. 131).

[p. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2469-2541)

756 [192] The Washo word da?man?li? has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town mebbe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then mebbe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[5]

Far more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now 756 seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, 115 and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisti- [871] cated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone [237] whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[5] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

[P. 369, B]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2489-2541)

gratified and smiled. "Oh well, it's all psychological anyway," he answered, confirming Lowie's description of him as a sophisticate.

He is noted for his rather atypical practice of tending a garden, which consists mostly of fruit trees, and for his open liking for old-fashioned foods, which he collects, including fly grubs and locusts. I was not able to observe his curing procedures, but they were described to me by another informant, a seventy-five-year-old woman, considered one of the most progressive of the residents of Dresslerville.

"I took my granddaughter to Rupert after the white doctors didn't do nothing for her. He don't doctor in the real old Indian way [a phrase I later learned meant that he did not hold a series of four one-night sessions but only a short ceremony]. He don't give you nothing, just sings and prays and talks over you for a while. He has a rattle and a whistle and a band on his head. After we went to him my granddaughter got well."

Another informant, the man who was cured by his mother—curiously another graduate of the Stewart School and outwardly a progressive Indian—was a veritable fountain of shamanistic knowledge. His father and maternal uncle were both well-known shamans. Although he insisted that he had no particular power himself, other Indians generally claimed that he had certain hunting medicines which assisted him in taking game. There is little doubt that he believed he had been approached by spirits offering him shamanistic power. His life story was a long recital of ailments and mystic occurrences. The ailments, coupled with his attitude about spiritual power, suggested strongly that his suffering had been due to a rejection of the power offered (Whiting 1950). He supplied the following account about the process of becoming a shaman.

"Young fellows sometimes have dreams but usually they don't pay no attention to them. But when you get older and keep having dreams you begin to pay attention. Maybe you see a bear or a rattlesnake or Water Baby or anything. It tell you that you are going to be a doctor. The next morning you go out and bathe and pray. This thing keeps coming [in your dreams]. It may take any form, a skeleton or an animal but you know it's always the same thing as the first time, just taking different shapes.

"These dreams keep coming for four, sometimes eight, years to get you to be a good doctor. But during all this time you don't get no song. But they do give you your water. It tells you some certain place up in the mountains where there is a spring. You mebbe think there isn't no spring there, but there is. Then it tells you where to gather tobacco. Later it will tell you to make a rattle out of cocoon. Mebbe at first you only make a rattle with one cocoon. Later it says for you to add more. Finally it will give you a song. You dream this song. But you don't really remember it. You just begin singing it like you had known it all the time. For a while you may get a new song every year. Sometime you have

[P. 370, B]

758 of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, when Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape [276] from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of [177] Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke [755] in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, so bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

778 Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which
756 were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such
a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock
[424] at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doc- [787] tor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

[P. 393, A]

668 177 [756] [182]

One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

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[P.393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

[P. 354, B]

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of coöperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group coöperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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Every few months "runs" are made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but tney are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.[3]

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabáʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
● 755 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through
756 a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent revival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony.
[262] Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears ON p. 39 -- Analyst]

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegeléyu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegeléyus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegeléyu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears. 776 [789] [821] [754]

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegeléyu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams. 778 787

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegeléyu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing. 978 [755]

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[785] Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegelḗyu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegelḗyus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegelḗyu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegelḗyu. It is interesting that only water wegelḗyu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated
[834] the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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[158] Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukúshkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukúshkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill
[753] Welukúshkush. Welukúshkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukúshkush had the water-baby for his wegelḗyu. Welukúshkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukúshkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukúshkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

753 775 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the bear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 775 787 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams. Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the [755] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

775 [92] [551] Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie, 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead person's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegeléyu and the bone his Hindu wegeléyu. Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegeléyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath.

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle
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774 over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still
75 unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
757 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
888 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

DREAMER ELEM. ELEMENTS.: KEY—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	K1	K2	K3	Yo	Yb	Ye	Wa	Wi	Ge	Ty	Wi	K1	K2
2471. Rheumatic powers received: in childhood	○	○	○	○	–	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2472. Any time	○	○	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2473. Power inherited from father	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
2474. From mother	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
2475. Before relative's death	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
2476. After relative's death	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
2477. Source of power is natural dreams (enough)	–	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2478. Sought in mountains	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
2481. Shaman interprets vision	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
2482. Shaman supervises sick youth	–	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2482a. Youth does not disclose dreams	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2483. Power may be refused	–	○	–	○	–	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2484. One doctor has several powers	–	○	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2485. Vision given: songs	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2486. Shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	○	○	○	○
2487. Paraphernalia	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2488. Paint	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2489. Rattle	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2490. Doctor's assistant	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2491. Equipment of various doctors: stick	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2492. Feathers	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2493. Eagle down	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2494. Fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2495. Clay	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2496. Lumbar rattle	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	○	○	○
2496a. Rawhide rattle	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	–	–	–	○	–	–	–
2497. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–
2498. Flute	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2499. Loss of equipment dangerous to doctor	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2500. Curing Performances	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2501. Performance in outdoor brush enclosure	–	–	–	○	–	○	–	–	–	○	○	○	○	○
2502. In house	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	–	–	–	–	–
2503. Doctor sings	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2504. Audience joins song	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2505. Doctor smokes	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2506. Assistant lights his pipe	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	○	○	○
2507. Pipe passed to right	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	○	○	○
2507a. Left (clockwise)	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2508. Doctor talks	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	○	○	○
2509. Assistant interprets	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	○	○	○
2510. Doctor dances	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2511. Doctor walks	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2512. Doctor sucks out of patient:	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2513. Blood	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2514. Snake	–	–	–	–	○	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
2515. Flint	–	–	–	–	○	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
2516. Stick	–	–	–	–	○	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○
2517. Worm	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2518. Other or various objects	○	–	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2519. Doctor sucks through: mouth only	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2519a. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2520. Stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2521. Feather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2523. Doctor goes into trance	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2524. Doctor vomits disease object	○	–	–	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2525. Doctor spits out disease object	·	○	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2526. Doctor exhibits disease object	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2526a. Rubs object on head	·	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
2527. Doctor blows away disease	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	–	○	○	○	○	○
2528. Doctor brushes away disease	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

NWA 756
NWA 787
NWA 756
NWA 755

[p. 413]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ya	Ki	Ki	Ha	To	To	Pa	Sa	At	Sa	Yg	Wa	Ki	At
2529.	Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530.	Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2531.	Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2532.	Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533.	Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2533a.	Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2534.	Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535.	Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
	2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
	2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
	2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
	2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2540.	Sleight-of-hand	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2541.	Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	Special Powers of Shamans														
2545.	Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2549a. By tying with horsehair	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2551.	Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2553.	Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
	2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
	2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
	2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557.	Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
	2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
2558.	Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2562.	Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2562a. Poisoners called stukapuhara	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
	2564. Power from various animals	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+
2566.	Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	Miscellaneous														
2567.	Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2568. Killed for declining	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2569.	Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2570a.	New doctor assists old ones	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
2571.	New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
	2572a. By free doctoring 2 times or more	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2574.	Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumatma)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2575. To nature	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2577.	Offerings to 'nature'	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2578. To ghost (tsaawi)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

[p. 414]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

N 756 781 taken once to a special deep lake where he was given a series of tests, and so on. An especially capable man was tutor. Boy was tested in swimming and hiking and was given a special method of drinking. All boys prayed and fasted for special powers desired.

2481. Kl: If a boy is sick, an old shaman decides if the sickness is a result of non-acceptance of power. The boy is given a willow to hold; if it shakes he is supposed to be a doctor, if it is steady, illness is due to other causes.

2483. Kl: If boy does not want to be a doctor, the old shaman sucks "power" from boy's forehead in the form of a stone, bullet, and the like. As the shaman exhibits the power, he asks the boy again if he does not want to keep it; if not, it is thrown away.

W [756] 2491. Wa: Indian doctor has pipe and special, small, feathered basket.

N 756 2492. Pa: Used eagle-wing whistle also.

2495. Ku: White clay sprinkled on paraphernalia (Lowie, 294). Tō: Jack Wilson used sand as ammunition to shoot rabbits. He also had power to melt the lead of enemy bullets or to make guns miss fire.

2498. Ku: Paiute doctors never whistled. If someone in room where shaman was doctoring were to whistle, shaman would drop dead.

Curing Performances

N 755 2505. Tō: Cigarettes have replaced pipe in doctoring; dreams tell how many cigarettes to use.

W [755] 2511. Wa: Shaman makes a fire and walks around it 4 times.

2514. Ku: Objects, such as snakes, flints, worms, were sucked out of patient after they had been shot into him by evil shaman. Ki: + (Kelly, 192).

A [755] 2526. AE: Big shaman places new medicine in disease objects and dispatches them into bad shaman who sent them into patient.

2540. Kl: One shaman rolled dust in cigarette paper and it turned to tobacco. Another put snow in his pipe and it changed to tobacco.

W [735] 2541. Wa: CR never saw "doctor" return soul of dying; he just heard about it being done by Washo.

Special Powers of Shaman

W [755] 2545, 2546. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2549. To: - (LP). Tō: Rain water used to cure snake bite and the shaman caused rain.

N 755 756 2549a. To: - (LP).

2551. At: Old Chief Winnemucca was attributed magical as well as political power by the Paiute in Idaho, Oregon, northern Nevada, and California. PS said he could suck shot from a wound and stop bleeding.

[p. 443 (E)]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

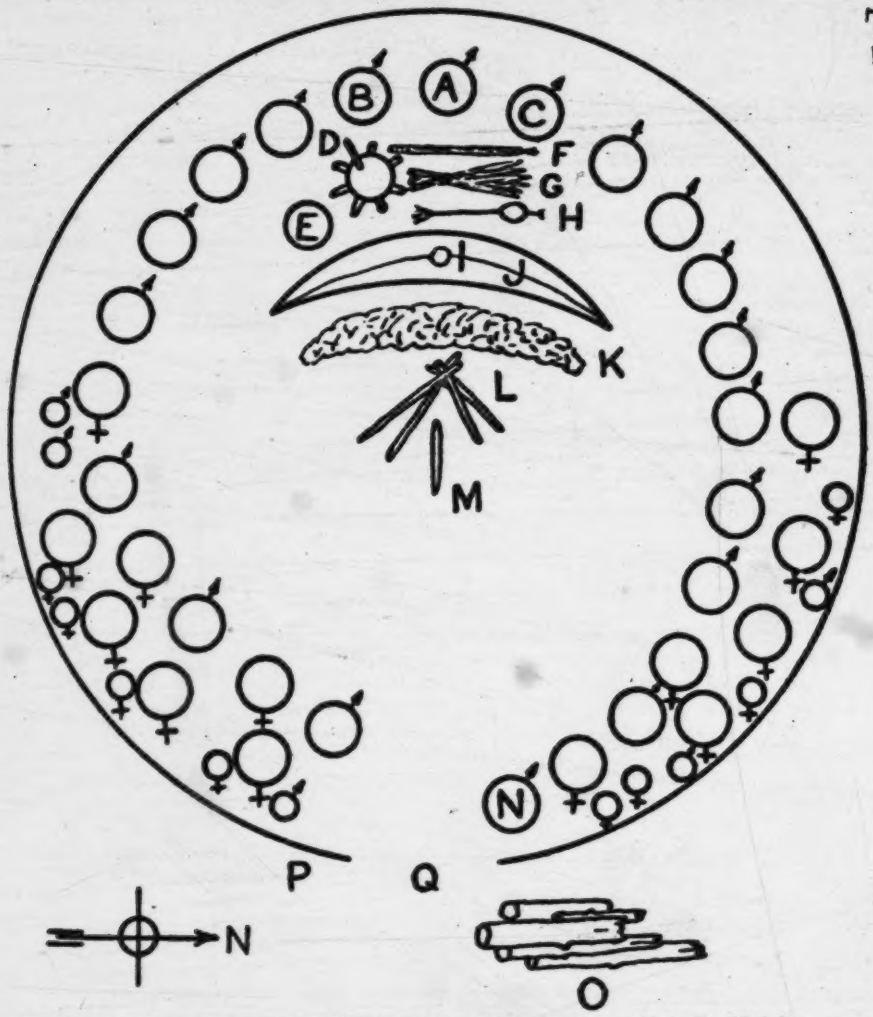

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.*

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.* The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

* See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

* See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N W 159 *795 797

Converts among Washo and Northern Paiute

About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

N W 159 755 *795 797 [276]

Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doe (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doe there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doe's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doe was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[10] The In-

[10] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after February, 1937.

Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[19] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

[19] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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159
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brother," of his new medicine and religion. Since his son was ill, Keno agreed to hold a meeting, to which Ben invited most of the thirty families in the valley. The meeting was held in early December, 1936, in a large ranch-house room lent to Keno by his Italian employer. The room was crowded. Curing was emphasized as the reason for the meeting, and nearly every sick Indian in the valley was there.

In January, meetings were called in Yerington for two young men known to have advanced tuberculosis. Ed Reymus and Ed Decroy were so sick that Ben suggested all-night meetings on two successive nights, a frequent practice during the early months of proselyting. After the first two rituals, both patients seemed improved; and meetings were called again two weeks later. During the last night of the second series, however, both patients complained of dryness in the throat which could not be relieved. Ed Reymus died at home two days later (January 24, 1937), and Ed Decroy died at Schurz Hospital, February 8, 1937. No more meetings were held at Yerington and only a few Yerington Indians have attended them elsewhere.

It is difficult to conduct a peyote meeting when only one person present knows the ritual. Probably to have an experienced first assistant on hand at all times, Ben made his wife chief drummer. He and Mary held meetings alternately at Schurz, Wellington, and Gardnerville until March, 1937, when Schurz was dropped.

Colville, California, took the place of Schurz in the circuit. The Coleville meetings were called for Joe McBride by his wife and relatives, who had attended meetings at Wellington. The Coleville converts, unlike those at Yerington, continued to participate in peyotism in spite of Joe McBride's death (he, too, suffered from advanced tuberculosis), possibly because Ben laid the blame on the poisonous alcoholic breath of a drunken sheriff, who broke up a meeting at McBride's a day or two before Joe died.

To Daisy Cushman (P,12) is due the credit for the first meeting at Fallon Reservation. She had stolen away from the Schurz Hospital, where she was convalescing, to attend Ben's early Schurz meeting. She wrote her sister, Dolly Moose (P,6), at Fallon Reservation, about peyote's cures. Since Dolly Moose's daughter Ruth had endocarditis, which the doctors affirmed might cause her death at any time, Dolly took her daughter from the hospital and wrote Ben, who decided on a three-night ritual. Only the family assisted on the first two nights, but the third night a neighbor, Joaquin Brown (P,6), offered to help pay for the "doctoring." The child seemed improved, and another meeting was arranged in two weeks. Joaquin invited all the Indians on the reservation to attend, especially the sick; but only about 20 of the 146 adults came, among them several of Ben's old friends. Treatments were continued and four families were converted. When the child died five months later, Ben explained it by saying her Aunt Daisy had exposed her to whiskey fumes. However, since Ben neglected to attend the funeral, the Mooses, although devout, stopped attending meetings.

The sanity trial of peyotist Joaquin Brown, ending with a prison sentence for incest, further placed the peyote cult in a bad light here. During the trial, Ben left his Paiute wife with Keno in Smith Valley and went to Texas in his new Ford V8 automobile. One enthusiastic woman contributed $100 to defray the expenses of his long pilgrimage to get peyote and, incidentally, to join his legal wife.

Even before this trial, the majority of Northern Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Fallon Reservation were skeptical. Several maintained that peyote had killed all who had eaten it in 1929 and 1930. Most of the sick had in fact died in the six intervening years, although none had died immediately after Leo Okio's meetings. Nevertheless, of the ten Paiute and three Shoshone families who were present at

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members.

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of digitalis,[n] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lancaster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[n] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding

[n] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.
[n] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben departed, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys' and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in his absence.[2] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[2] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study." To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote." Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times." Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

" The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

" See Appendix III for statistics.

" Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

" Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

" Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring ... in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[a] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.